

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O 310730Z JUL 76 ZFF-6  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6844  
AMEMBASSY KABUL NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 7841

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM BYROADE

KABUL FOR ELIOT FROM BYROADE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP  
SUBJECT: SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT

1. UNFORTUNATELY I MUST RETURN TO YOU AGAIN ON THE LOCALE  
OF YOUR MEETINGS WITH BHUTTO.

2. FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF YOUR INSTRUCTIONS IN STATE 188635  
I TOLD THE PAKS THAT WE HAD RELUCTANTLY COME TO THE CONCLUSION  
THAT WE JUST COULD NOT, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WORK OUT  
THINGS FOR NATHIAGALI. I ALSO TOLD THEM THAT THE SAME APPLIED  
FOR PESHAWAR, EXPLAINING TO AGHA SHAHI AS WELL THAT I THOUGHT  
IT WOULD CAUSE UNFOUNDED SPECULATION ON THE PART OF SOME THAT  
BHUTTO WAS DELIBERATELY TRYING TO INTERJECT YOU INTO A REGIONAL  
DISPUTE WHICH WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL. I URGED SHAHI  
URGENTLY TO GET THIS MATTER SETTLED BY PHONE WITH  
BHUTTO LAST NIGHT. I HAVE JUST RECEIVED WORD THAT  
BHUTTO TOLD SHAHI THAT THERE WERE REASONS WHY HE  
DEFINITELY, REPEAT DEFINITELY, DID NOT WANT THE MEETINGS  
IN RAWALPINDI AND THAT IF WE COULD NOT ACCEPT NATHIAGALI  
HE STRONGLY HOPED WE COULD MAKE THE PESHAWAR SITE  
WORKABLE. HE ALSO ADDED THAT HE HOPED, SINCE PAKISTAN  
WAS THE HOST COUNTRY FOR THE VISIT, WE COULD ACQUIESCE  
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IN HIS SUGGESTION THAT PESHAWAR BE THE VENUE.

3. IT IS EXTREMELY UNFORTUNATE THAT I MUST OF NECESSITY USE AGHA SHAHI AS A GO-BETWEEN WITH BHUTTO DUE TO HIS INACCESSIBILITY IN REMOTE PARTS OF BALUCHISTAN. I AM NOT AT ALL SURE THAT SHAHI WOULD PUT THIS TO BHUTTO IN THE SAME MANNER THAT I WOULD IF I COULD DO IT PERSONALLY. UNFORTUNATELY I AM LEFT AT THE MOMENT WITH LITTLE ALTERNATIVE EXCEPT TO ACCEPT PESHAWAR OR CLINCH THE MATTER FINALLY BY SAYING THAT IT IS YOUR PERSONAL WISH NOT TO DO SO. THIS I AM RELUCTANT TO DO.

4. YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THE DELICACIES OF THIS PROBLEM. PESHAWAR IS OF COURSE ON PAKISTANI SOIL, IS A VERY INTERESTING SPOT, AND LOGISTICS AND COMMUNICATIONS, ETC CAN WITH SOME DIFFICULTY BE WORKED OUT. ACCOMODATIONS FOR YOU AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE WOULD BE IN EVEN BETTER SURROUNDINGS THAN IN RAWALPINDI; THERE IS NOW AN INTERCON THERE, ETC.

5. I DO NOT BELIEVE THE AFGHAN CONNECTION IS IN BHUTTO'S MIND. IF IT WERE, OF COURSE, NATHIAGALI WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN HIS STRONGLY PREFERRED SITE. ALSO, I AM CONVINCED HE WOULD NOT WANT TO DO ANYTHING WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD ALTER THE ATMOSPHERE FOR THE VISIT OF DAOUD HERE SHORTLY AFTER YOUR DEPARTURE. IF THERE IS ANY POLITICS IN HIS MIND ON THIS ONE AT ALL, WHICH I PERSONALLY DOUBT, IT WOULD BE OF AN INTERNAL NATURE. BEFORE YOUR VISIT WAS SCHEDULED HE WAS PLANNING TO GO TO PESHAWAR ANYWAY TO BEGIN AN EXTENSIVE POLITICAL TOUR OF THE PROVINCE ABOUT THE DAY YOU WILL BE ARRIVING. IT WOULD THEREFORE BE LOGICAL FOR HIM TO RECEIVE YOU THERE.

6. IF BHUTTO WERE HERE I WOULD OF COURSE SEE HIM IMMEDIATELY AND STILL TRY TO GET THIS MATTER WORKED OUT ON MY OWN. HE LITERALLY IS NOT ACCESSIBLE TO ME EXCEPT THROUGH UNSATISFACTORY PAK MILITARY CHANNELS, AND I GREATLY FEAR THAT TRYING TO PUSH THIS MATTER ANY FURTHER THROUGH NON-SYMPATHETIC INTERMEDIARIES RUNS A GREAT RISK OF MAKING BHUTTO PERSONALLY VERY UPSET WITH US. I KNOW YOU WOULD WANT TO AVOID THIS IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. I DON'T THINK HE WOULD GET IRRITATED ENOUGH TO  
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CONSIDER CANCELLING OUT BUT IT POSSIBLY COULD AFFECT SOMEWHAT THE ATMOSPHERE FOR YOUR TALKS WHICH I CONSIDER OF EXTREME IMPORTANCE.

7. I AM REPEATING THIS MESSAGE TO ELIOT WHO WILL NOT HAVE THE BENEFIT OF MY PREVIOUS MESSAGE AS I FEEL YOU WOULD WANT HIS REACTION. (FOR ELIOT: BHUTTO TOLD ME

RECENTLY THAT AFTER HIS RECENT TALK WITH DAOUD, HE WAS  
CERTAIN THAT DAOUD WOULD UNDERSTAND AND HAVE NO CONCERN

ABOUT A MEETING WITH KISSINGER BEING IN PESHAWAR.) I FEEL

THIS HAS REACHED A POINT, HOWEVER, WHERE THE PRESERVATION  
OF OUR BEST INTERESTS HERE WOULD INDICATE THAT WE SHOULD  
ACQUIESCE IN THE PESHAWAR SITE. WE MUST, OF COURSE,  
GET THIS MATTER SETTLED IMMEDIATELY, AS IT IS HOLDING  
UP IMPORTANT PREPARATIONS THAT LITERALLY MUST GO  
FORWARD BY TOMORROW AT THE LATEST.  
BYROADE

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